ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE AND GOVERNMENTS: THE GOOD, THE BAD, AND THE UGLY

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Al and Governments: the Good, the Bad, and the Ugly

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 - 2. **The Bad:** Al is an automation technology. How should gov'ts respond? "Inefficient automation" (with Zorzi)

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 - 3. The Ugly: AI is a surveillance technology. Gov't misuse for repression and social control? "AI-tocracy" (with Kao, Yang and Yuchtman)
 "Exporting the surveillance state via trade in AI" (with Kao, Yang and Yuchtman)

THE GOOD: ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT DATA AS INNOVATION POLICY

- ► Much focus on how data collected by **private** firms shapes AI innovation (Agrawal et al., 2019; Jones and Tonetti, 2020)
- ▶ Yet, throughout history, **states** have also collected massive quantities of data
- ► The state has a large role in many areas
 - ▶ Public security, health care, education, basic science...

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Can access to government data stimulate commercial AI innovation?

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Think about facial recognition AI sector in China...

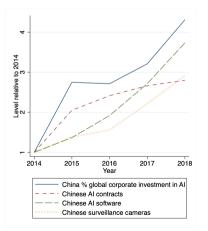
- ► Algo's trained on video of faces from many angles
- Government units collect this data through their surveillance apparatus, and contract AI firms

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Al and the State in China

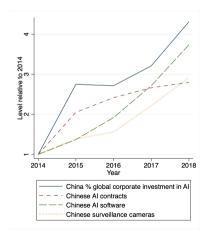


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- ► Algo's trained on video of faces from many angles
- Government units collect this data through their surveillance apparatus, and contract AI firms
- ► Firms gaining access to this data use it to train algorithms and provide gov't services
- ► If gov't data or algorithms are **sharable** across uses, they can be used to develop commercial AI (e.g., a facial recognition platform for retail stores)

Al and the State in China



DATA 1: LINKING AI FIRMS TO GOVT. CONTRACTS

1. Identify all facial recognition AI firms

- 7,837 firms
- Two sources: Tianyancha (People's Bank of China) and PitchBook (Morningstar)

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3. Link government buyers to AI suppliers

- 10,677 AI contracts issued by public security arms of government (e.g., local police department)



DATA 2: Al FIRMS' SOFTWARE PRODUCTION

Registered with Min. of Industry and Information Technology

Categorize by intended customers (with RNN model using tensorflow):

- 1. Commercial: e.g., visual recognition system for smart retail;
- 2. **Government:** e.g., smart city real time monitoring system on main traffic routes;
- 3. General: e.g., a synchronization method for multi-view cameras based on FPGA chips.

DATA 3: MEASURING ACCESS TO GOVERNMENT DATA

Within AI public security contracts: variation in the data collection capacity of the public security agency's local surveillance network

- 1. Identify non-Al contracts: police department purchases of street cameras
- 2. Measure quantity of advanced cameras in a prefecture at a given time
- 3. Categorize public security contracts as coming from "high" or "low" camera capacity prefectures

Public security contracts "data-richness" & Commercial Al innovation

Regional variation in contracts



Empirical strategy

► Triple diff: software releases before and after firm receives 1st data-rich contract (relative to data-scarce)

$$y_{it} = \sum_{\mathsf{T}} \beta_{1\mathsf{T}} \mathsf{T}_{it} \mathsf{Data}_i + \sum_{\mathsf{T}} \beta_{2\mathsf{T}} \mathsf{T}_{it} + \alpha_t + \gamma_i + \sum_{\mathsf{T}} \beta_{3\mathsf{T}} \mathsf{T}_{it} \mathsf{X}_i + \epsilon_{it}$$

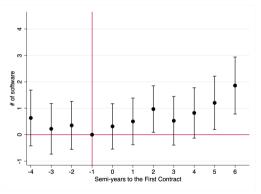
- T_{it}: 1 if T semi-years before/since firm i's 1st contract
- Data_i: 1 if firm *i* receives "data rich" contract
- X_i pre-contract controls: age, size, and software prod

Public security contracts "data-richness" & Commercial Al Innovation

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Cumulative commercial software releases



Magnitude: 2 new products over 3 years

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- ► Two literatures can justify taxing automation

Tax automation

Guerreiro et al 2017; Costinot-Werning 2018

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- (ii) Automation/reallocation are efficient

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Tax capital (long-run)

Aiyagari 1995; Conesa et al. 2002

- (i) Improve efficiency in economies with IM
- (ii) Worker displacement/reallocation absent

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 - (i) Slow reallocation: workers face mobility barriers and may go through unempl./retraining
 - (ii) Imperfect credit markets: workers have limited ability to borrow against future incomes

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Could firms automate excessively? How should the gov't respond?

OUTLINE

Laissez-faire

Optimal Policy

Quantitative Analysis



Continuous time $t \ge 0$

Occupations

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 (degree $\alpha \ge 0$) or $h = N$

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Final good producer

$$G^{\star}\left(\mu^{\mathsf{A}},\mu^{\mathsf{N}};\alpha\right)\equiv G\left(\left\{y^{h}\right\}\right)-\mathcal{C}\left(\alpha\right)$$

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Automation

$$\partial_{\mathsf{A}}\mathsf{G}^{\star}\left(\mu^{\mathsf{A}},\mu^{\mathsf{N}};\pmb{\alpha}\right)\downarrow$$
 in $\pmb{\alpha}$ (labor-displacing)

$$G^{\star}\left(\mu^{\mathsf{A}},\mu^{\mathsf{N}};\pmb{\alpha}\right)$$
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Profit maximization

$$\max_{\alpha\geq0}\int_{0}^{+\infty}Q_{t}\Pi_{t}\left(\alpha\right)dt$$

Continuous time t > 0

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$$\Pi_{t}\left(\alpha\right) \equiv \max_{\mu^{A}, \mu^{N} \geq 0} G^{\star}\left(\mu^{A}, \mu^{N}; \alpha\right) - \mu^{A} W_{t}^{A} - \mu^{N} W_{t}^{N}$$

Workers

Preferences

$$U_0 = \int \exp\left(-\rho t\right) \frac{c_t^{1-\sigma}}{1-\sigma} dt$$

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Two frictions

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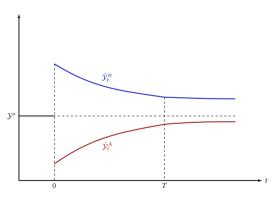
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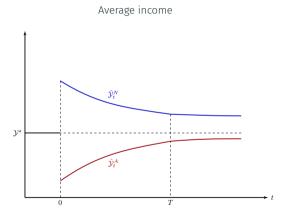
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- 1. Reallocation (neoclassical)
 - Random opportunities arrive at rate ${\color{black} \lambda}$
 - Unempl. / retrain. exit at rate κ
 - Productivity loss θ
- 2. Borrowing

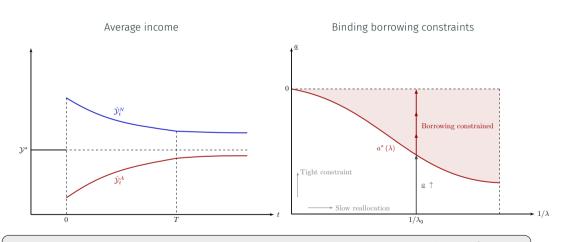
$$a_t^h \ge \underline{a}$$
 for some $\underline{a} \le 0$



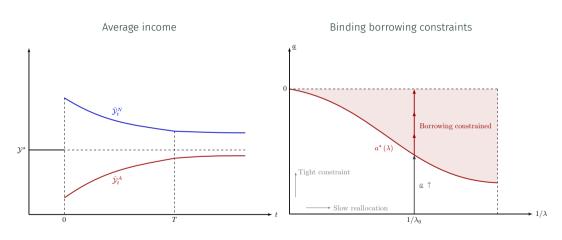




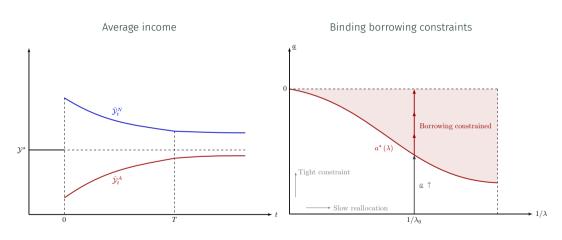
Workers expect income to improve as they reallocate o Motive for **borrowing**



Workers expect income to improve as they reallocate \rightarrow Motive for **borrowing**



Two benchmarks: instant realloc. (Costinot-Werning) or no borrowing frictions (Guerreiro et al)



Evidence: Earnings partially recover (Jacobson et al) + Imperfect cons. smoothing (Landais-Spinnewijn)

LAISSEZ-FAIRE: AUTOMATION

Firm automation choice α^{LF} : trades off cost $\mathcal{C}(\alpha)$ with increase in output

LAISSEZ-FAIRE: AUTOMATION

- Firm automation choice α^{LF} : trades off cost $\mathcal{C}(\alpha)$ with increase in output
- Optimality condition

$$\int_0^{+\infty} Q_t \Delta_t^{\star} dt = 0$$

where

$$\Delta_t^\star \equiv rac{\partial}{\partial lpha} \mathsf{G}^\star \left(\mu_t^\mathsf{A}, \mu_t^\mathsf{N}; oldsymbol{lpha}^\mathsf{LF}
ight)$$

denotes the output gains (net of cost) from automation, and

$$Q_t = \exp\left(-\int_0^t r_s ds\right) = \exp\left(-\rho t\right) \frac{u'\left(c_t^N\right)}{u'\left(c_0^N\right)}$$

since non-automated workers are unconstrained (savers).

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Optimal Policy

Quantitative Analysis

How should a government respond to automation?

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- ► First best tools: lump sum transfers (directed, UBI)

Info requirements? Fiscal cost? (Guerreiro et al., 2017; Costinot-Werning, 2018, Guner et al., 2021)

How should a government respond to automation?

- ► Depends on the **tools** available
- ► Second best tools: tax automation + active labor market interventions

E.g., South Korea's reduction in automation tax credit in manuf; Geneva's tax on automated cashiers.

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 E.g., South Korea's reduction in automation tax credit in manuf; Geneva's tax on automated cashiers.
- ▶ **Primal problem:** The government maximizes the social welfare function

$$\mathcal{U} \equiv \sum_{h} \eta^{h} \int_{0}^{+\infty} \exp(-\rho t) u\left(c_{t}^{h}\right) dt$$

by choosing $\{\alpha, T, \mu_t^A, \mu_t^N, c_t^A, c_t^N\}$ subject to workers choosing consumption optimally, the law of motion of labor, firms choosing labor optimally, and market clearing.

 \blacktriangleright Consider a perturbation $\delta \alpha$ starting from the laissez-faire. Welfare change

$$\frac{\delta \mathcal{U}}{\delta \alpha} = \eta^{N} u' \left(c_{0}^{N}\right) \times \int_{0}^{+\infty} \underbrace{\exp\left(-\rho t\right) \frac{u' \left(c_{t}^{N}\right)}{u' \left(c_{0}^{N}\right)}}_{=\exp\left(-\rho t\right) \frac{u' \left(c_{t}^{N}\right)}{u' \left(c_{0}^{N}\right)}} \times \left(\Delta_{t}^{\star} + \Sigma_{t}^{N,\star}\right) dt$$

$$+ \eta^{A} u' \left(c_{0}^{A}\right) \times \int_{0}^{+\infty} \underbrace{\exp\left(-\rho t\right) \frac{u' \left(c_{t}^{A}\right)}{u' \left(c_{0}^{A}\right)}}_{\text{How automated workers value flows}} \times \left(\Delta_{t}^{\star} + \Sigma_{t}^{A,\star}\right) dt$$

where Δ_t^\star is aggregate term and $\Sigma_t^{A,\star} + \Sigma_t^{N,\star} = 0$ are distributional terms.

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- ▶ Still rationale for redistribution since $u'(c_t^N) < u'(c_t^A)$, e.g., utilitarian weights

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► Borrowing constraints $\rightarrow \frac{u'(c_t^N)}{u'(c_0^N)} > \frac{u'(c_t^A)}{u'(c_0^A)} \rightarrow \text{Inefficiency}$

ightharpoonup Consider a perturbation $\delta \alpha$ starting from the laissez-faire. Welfare change

$$\frac{\delta \mathcal{U}}{\delta \alpha} = \eta^{N} u' \left(c_{0}^{N}\right) \times \int_{0}^{+\infty} \underbrace{\exp\left(-\rho t\right) \frac{u' \left(c_{t}^{N}\right)}{u' \left(c_{0}^{N}\right)}}_{=\exp\left(-\int_{0}^{t} r_{s} ds\right)} \times \left(\Delta_{t}^{\star} + \Sigma_{t}^{N,\star}\right) dt$$

$$+ \eta^{A} u' \left(c_{0}^{A}\right) \times \int_{0}^{+\infty} \underbrace{\exp\left(-\rho t\right) \frac{u' \left(c_{t}^{A}\right)}{u' \left(c_{0}^{A}\right)}}_{\text{How automated workers value flows}} \times \left(\Delta_{t}^{\star} + \Sigma_{t}^{N,\star}\right) dt$$

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There is a **conflict** between how the firm and displaced workers value the **effects of** automation over time. This creates room for Pareto improvements.

Proposition. (Constrained inefficiency)

Generically, there exists $\{\delta\alpha, \delta T\}$ such that $\delta U^A > 0$ and $\delta U^N = 0$. This requires $\delta\alpha < 0$.

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- 1. The output gains from automation Δ_t^* build up over time
- 2. Automated workers are *more impatient* than the firm priced by unconst. workers
- 3. Set $\delta \alpha < 0$, and $\delta T < 0$ to compensate non-auto. workers (akin to future transfer)

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$$\delta \textit{U}^{\text{A}} > 0 \qquad \qquad \delta \textit{U}^{\text{N}} = 0$$

Taxing automation increases **aggregate consumption** and **redistributes** early on during the transition, precisely when **displaced workers** value it more.

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Proposition. (Taxing automation on efficiency grounds)

A government using efficiency weights $\{\eta^{h,\text{effic}}\}$ finds it optimal to tax automation.

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▶ Pref. for equity: Government taxes even more with utilitarian weights

OUTLINE

Laissez-faire

Optimal Policy

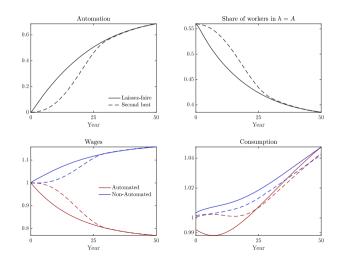
Quantitative Analysis

QUANTITATIVE MODEL

► Adds: gradual autom. + idiosync. risk (Huggett-Aiyagari) + gross flows (McFadden)

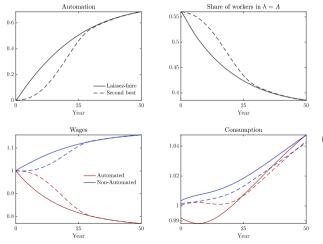
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Half-life of automation
15 years at LF v. 20 years at SB

Welfare gains
0.8% for A workers and 0.2% overall

THE UGLY: THE SURVEILLANCE STATE

- ► As a technology of **prediction**, gov'ts may use AI for repression and social control (Zuboff, 2019; Tirole, 2021; Acemoglu, 2021)
- ► Facial recognition AI, in particular, is a technology of **surveillance** (and dual-use)

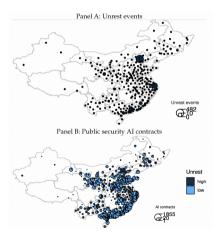
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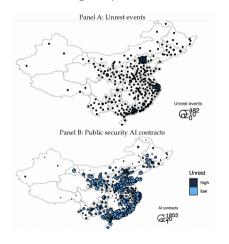
Evidence from China?

AI-TOCRACY

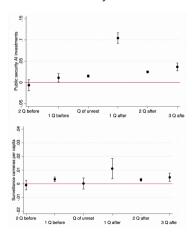
Unrest and gov't procurement of AI



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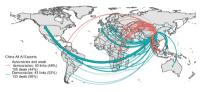


Unrest \longrightarrow Gov't buys AI and cameras



EXPORTING THE SURVEILLANCE STATE VIA TRADE IN AI

Exports of AI: China v. US

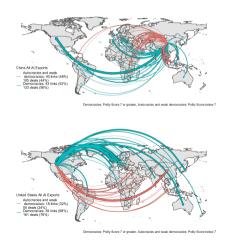


Democracies: Polity Score 7 or greater, Autocracies and weak democracies: Polity Score below 7

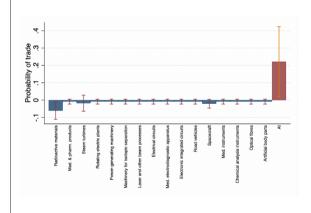


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Autocracies and weak democracies are more likely to import Al from China



FINAL THOUGHTS

- ► AI is a new technology with many different features and uses
- ► Touches on issues across fields: macro (growth, innovation, labor), pol. econ, IO

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- ► Al is a new technology with many different features and uses
- ► Touches on issues across fields: macro (growth, innovation, labor), pol. econ, IO
- ► Social scientists have a **responsibility** to study the benefits, risks, and policy implications of AI
 - ► Otherwise, we leave the task to...
- ▶ We have only started to scratch the surface. **More questions** as AI is widely adopted.

Much work ahead!